1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the icon of Christ is on his right and that of St. John the Baptist next to it. To his left one sees on the altar the icon of the Virgin, and farther to the left the icon of the saint for whom the church was named.

The congregation stands during the service, except for a few infirm who can lean against supports along the wall; there is no instrumental music, as the priest and the chanter carry the service themselves in a language that much of the time is unintelligible to the worshippers. The gospels are read in Koine, or New Testament Greek, and the liturgy, written by St. John Chrysostom toward the end of the fourth century, is in the Greek of that period. When the priest delivers a sermon, he uses his version of katharevousa, if he is sufficiently schooled; otherwise, he speaks in demotike. Apparently the worshippers are moved by the ceremony, the procession, the swinging censers, and the chanting even more than by the actual meaning of the words to which they listen. Now and then in the liturgy, however, come familiar passages which most can understand because of having learned their meaning in school or from some relative.

The worshippers, among whom small children may be running or tugging, include very few men. They come out for special festival services but show no interest in the regular Sunday-morning service, which is viewed as the woman's social hour. Even during the service women catch up on the latest happenings throughout the village.

The priest, however, is busy at other times, too. Dorothy Lee describes it this way:

> Religion permeates Greek life, punctuating it with ritual. No Greek, urban or rural, would think of initiating anything important without a religious inauguration. Schools open with the inaugurative *agiasmos*, "making holy"; the foundation stone of every house is laid with *agiasmos;* merchants begin new undertakings with the proper religious inauguration. On Epiphany, the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country, blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields. The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives; their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success, it is not primarily to prevent or correct. . . . Priests are called in, and Saints and the Virgin invoked, also, when difficulties arise. Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one; the priest is called when the family has had a run of misfortune, to "make holy" and exorcise the evil. Priests conduct a rain litany to break a drought.[13]

The parish as such consists of no such array of organized groups as comprise an American congregation; the priest is not trying to convert the unbeliever or change the daily life of his people. He is there to help them meet life's emergencies, to instill a love for their religion and their country, and to act as peacemaker when disputes threaten the harmony of the community.[14]

1 Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

626 [577] others present, for there are prescribed roles that go with the position one holds at a given time. Social control tends to enforce the playing of these prescribed roles and to discourage the highly individualistic variations to which others are not prepared to respond.

Without attempting to trace the complete system of operating controls in a Greek village, I shall mention some of the methods encountered as supplements to many already dealt with in earlier chapters.

682 627 The most far-reaching controls have to do with the taking of human life. Today in most parts of Greece this has passed into the hands of the police and the legal system, but some generations ago it was common for family members to think that they themselves should deal with anyone who killed a kinsman.

From time to time, I would ask in a village whether any serious crimes had been committed and would hear of an isolated case — such as the woman who, a few years ago, as the result of a boundary dispute, had picked up a stone and killed a man, thereafter being put in jail for a year or so. Usually, people said, the relatives help settle disputes.

626 [685] Or, when I asked what would happen locally if a person were caught stealing, I was told: "We don't have such people here. If anyone did steal the villagers would exclude him; they would ostracize him so he couldn't stand it. They would also take him to court."

But for most villagers the controls deal with behavior which is not considered criminal. Photiadis shows one way in which this operates:

[593] [834] The father is the leader, and family members want to please him, and he in turn takes care of the whole family. If a mother sees her adolescent daughter mingling with boys more than is expected, she will reprimand her by saying "you are ridiculing your father," or "the men at the coffeehouse will laugh at you." [8]

[275] He contends that the coffeehouse operates as a social control over the family through the father, "who is confronted directly by the opinions of the cliques that form it and operate as reference groups for the rest of the population in the village." It is also true that social control operates in much the same way for the women through the neighborhood "gossiping groups."

[291] Even in Athens one is aware that the social controls from the village still pursues the individual. A Greek friend asked her dressmaker why she did not wear dresses with short sleeves and was told that she could not. "But don't you get hot?" "Oh, I would rather get hot," replied the dressmaker, "than have people gossiping about me in the village."

A group of village girls in a special course at Pierce College near Athens, when asked what the people of their communities would do if anyone went counter to prevailing norms, compiled this list:

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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The people speak against the person.
If a woman gossips, people ignore her.
If a man drinks too much, they beat him.
People give advice, for there are usually two or three older people who have the role of advisers and to whom people turn.
Sometimes the solution is by means of knives.
The village people threaten the person who does not conform and may drive him out of the village.
They may take the person to church and make him say special prayers.
They may take revenge on the person by injuring his animals, or by burning his house if his conduct is too much of a threat to the rest.

This last item illustrates that at times the people can behave cruelly to other villagers who threaten the safety, morality, or even reputation of the village. Individuals as individuals seek personal revenge, but much of the time such an action is collective, discussed by several leaders in advance, and carried out with dispatch by a group. [627]

Apparently, living in a Greek village is a great deal like living in a goldfish bowl. One writer comments of his village:

Here in our village one has no secrets from the others. Someone asks about something and we reply. Even if we want to hide something we cannot. Everybody knows about it. . . . We say: "The whole world announces it with drums, while we think it's a secret." [9]

But the sense of community grows not only out of the acceptance of the same "thou shalt nots" but also is related to the systems of rewards held out by the community to those who conform. This is the positive side of social control. To have the esteem of the villagers is to enhance one's own self-esteem, to win an election because others think well of you, to be sought out when others need advice, to have your sons or daughters considered as good "catches" for marriage, all indicate that one has conformed to the code of accepted behavior. It may also mean that one has used individual initiative in behalf of the community when situations arose for which the code gave no specific prescription.

One villager summarized the sense of community well when he pointed out that people were loyal to their village because they lived there and their interests were connected with it, adding, "one is loyal to whatever is close to one's birth certificate and death certificate." 621

Although the life of the villager centers in most details upon the settlement where he lives, his range of interests may go far beyond it. True enough, he is apt to be loyal to his village; but he is also loyal to his region. Those who come from Arcadia, whether they are residing in Athens or in 619 [575]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

653 461 491 The reluctance of the villagers to work on the road seems to result not from a lack of motivation but rather from a more compelling distaste for manual labor, and especially for such work when it does not directly or immediately benefit each man's own family. Several years later when a new school was built, some of the parents of the school children helped with parts of the construction. The other villagers did not.

651 623 The preparation of the community tax rolls is an important responsibility of the village council. Since taxes are based on land tenure, on produce, and on livestock ownership, the council must prepare lists of people who own land within the boundaries of the *kinotis*. The lists include for each person information on the number of *stremata* in each parcel of land he owns, on the kind of crop raised on each parcel, and on the quality of the land. Lists of the number of horses, mules, sheep, and goats owned by each villager are also compiled. Donkeys and chickens are not taxed and no listing is made of them. The tax is calculated for each item and the completed tax rolls are posted. A villager may feel that he has been unfairly treated, that, for example, the quality of his vineyard has been overestimated or that he has fewer sheep than the number listed. In such a case he can request a revision from the council. His request is usually granted and that settles the matter. If he is not satisfied, he may ask for a hearing before a grievance committee, the members of which are proposed by the council from among the villagers. Any decision of the committee is subject to the veto of the nomarch. In Vasilika disputes over tax rolls are said not to occur, and no grievance committee has been established for many years. There had been a dispute with Parori in the 1930's over the boundaries of the two communities. Since each *kinotis* receives taxes from the land within its boundaries the question of where one *kinotis* begins and the other ends is of considerable importance. The argument between the two villages was finally settled in the courts.

[627] [634] 651 628 642

In connection with the preparation of tax rolls, the president has some power over the shepherds living in the community. Anyone classified as a nonresident of Vasilika must pay double the rate for pasturing his animals there. If no permission has been granted, he must pay triple the rate for residents. The question of when and if the new settlers in Vasilika—the shepherds, who had been living there since 1950—would be considered residents of Vasilika, that is, full-fledged citizens of the *kinotis*, was of significance both to the village and to the shepherds. They were finally granted this privilege in 1959.

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423 651 The actual process of preparing the tax rolls consists of a series of agreements among the villagers, including their council members, as to what amount of property they will declare. In consequence, the tax rolls do not necessarily represent an accurate and complete accounting of property ownership in the *kinotis*. Farmers often try to hide some of their holdings and keep some of their transactions quiet. For example, in order to pay less in taxes on the value of dowries, the cords may show the transfer of a smaller parcel of land to the groom than the one privately agreed on and later privately carried out. Records are probably being kept more accurately now, since credit from the Agricultural Bank is based on land holdings, and proof of ownership must be given to the bank.

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6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

communities) were governed by appointees of the Ministry of Interior. This sometimes led to disharmony and distrust between the inhabitants and their legal representatives. In 1951, however, elections were organized in villages (and larger communities), so that for the first time since the war the people had a chance to choose their own local officials. Villagers elect members of the village council, which varies in size with the size of the community. The council members then choose one of their number as president and another as secretary.

The secretary's duty is to keep village records; but the main responsibilities rest upon the president. He represents the village in all dealings with the outer world, and has an informal authority to hear complaints and settle quarrels within the village. Legal cases, however, lie beyond his competence; they are dealt with by regular judges, appointed by the Ministry of Justice.

A second center of village leadership is the church. Every village has a church, and the priest is often a native of the village, distinguished from his fellows by a special garb and the fact that he has attended a seminary for a year or longer. Priests are appointed by bishops, but a congregation has the right to refuse a nomination, or to object to a priest it dislikes. In such cases the bishop normally attempts to find someone else to suit the wishes of the community.

A third focus of leadership is the school system. Nearly every village has a primary school, staffed by a teacher who has had at least a secondary school education. Unlike the priest or the president, he is most often a stranger to the community, appointed to his post by the Ministry of Education. Here, in many villages, lies an important point of contact with the outside world; but just because the schoolmaster is usually an outsider and often a city man, he fails to command in most villages quite the same trust and authority that the priest and president enjoy.

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a twin, and when they mourn they mourn together. Their sentimental songs are always tinged with the air of sadness. Even at the funerals they sing the same songs which they sing when they have a merry time. Mutual aid is the characteristic quality of the Caucasians in their work, in their joy, and in their sorrow. On the contrary, the Thracians are strictly individualistic and regard mutual aid as the sign of laziness.

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/90/ Conflicts. Regardless of the mutual aid and the cooperation they have, the conflicts are very prevalent. They occur either among the two groups or among the members of one group. The causes of the conflicts are for controlling the village cooperative, the mayorship of the village, or as a consequence of a proposal to marriage which was declined. It is important here to note that regardless of the conflict situation if the "Gerousia" wanted to finish a certain community project they all shared alike the burden. In spite of the official power the cooperative has and the organized super-imposed government mayor has, the "Gerousia", the unofficial body of old men is the real axis or the center of any unanimous movement. Conflicts which are temporarily settled by the mayor or by the goverment courts eventually reach the peaceful settlement of the "Gerousia" who know so well how to make the people forgive each other. The judge at the courts reads the law and enforces the punishment according to the act, but "Gerousia" knows so well the past of every one and even the type of family for one or two generations and touches the pride of every one by enumerating the good qualities and good dispositions of his father or grandfather. The position of "Gerousia" is that of a father and the effect they have on the person is lasting. Jealousies, small /91/ fights and family difficulties are settled by "Gerousia". This group is a government within a government, officially unknown, but it stands as the only guiding hand for the village community. At times of great distress and difficulties, people consult the "Gerousia". The church, the priest, the teacher and the doctor do not have as constructive an influence as the "Gerousia" does. It is not a voted body but has the unofficial

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general approval of all. The punishment of the "Gerousia" is ostracism until the person repents and asks forgiveness. The fear and respect towards "Gerousia" is greater than to anybody or group of people. One of the young men planning to divorce his wife because she could not bear any child, told of his experience with the "Gerousia". "Their words are sharper than the sharpest sword".

Latent Neighborhood Conflict Attitudes. 621 628 The jealousy of the nearby villages toward the successful cooperation of the villagers of Megali Vrisi was noticed many times. The success of Megali Vrisi in bringing the doctors who serve the area to their village, and in making it the center for the health project, naturally created hard feelings with the competing villages. The success with which the Caucasians of Megali Vrisi worked /92/ in organizing a young men's organization, increasing the number of teachers, building their church and having one of the well-organized cooperatives, has made it the leading village of the area.

Active Conflicts. 621 578 One of the active conflicts that exists in Megali Vrisi is the one between the Thracians and Caucasians. Each group in trying to preserve its identity tries to dominate the other by having more power in controlling the village council and cooperative. The Thracians as a minority, have never had any chance to get to any office for the last 16 years. The strong opposition they had from the Caucasians, united them on every question raised, and their inability to compete with the Caucasians has developed within every Thracian the illogical type of opposition. "Vote it down if it is a Caucasian proposal, whether good or bad." Regardless of this opposition, the Caucasians undertook to carry on their constructive community work by bearing the share of the Thracians too. Conflicts among different kinship groups were of a minor type and never developed to such a magnitude as to have destructive results. The "Gerousia" checked them. 627 The conflict between the Thracians and the Caucasians was beyond [623] the power of the "Gerousia". The Thracians never had any [692] "Gerousia" and as a result took more cases to the court and spent more /93/ money and time for it. The conflicts among the

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Thracians were of the worst type and usually would end with bloodshed.

Social Control, Formal and Informal Aspects of Control. [623]
The "Gerousia" usually exercised a degree of informal control [692]
over its members through its generally-accepted definitions of what is right or wrong. The government courts had little influence [685]
in this. There was no stealing among the Caucasians; many families would leave their houses unlocked and work in the fields; their implements scattered in the yards and the poultry nests out in the open.

Drinking is among the forms of behavior against which the 624
women of Megali Vrisi voice their disapproval. All the men drink, 273
but actually there are few who drink for the sake of getting drunk. When I ventured to ask some of those who get drunk, "Why they do it", almost everyone of them said, "to forget the miserable life". Some of them, due to deportations and wars, have lost all property, wives and children and the only comfort they find is to get drunk and get sentimental and weep.

/94/ Community Events. The recently organized community 543
fairs represent the inception of social organization for the pro- 621
motion of recreation. The purpose of these fairs was competition 476
in agricultural products and wholesome recreation, which meant 578
so much to these villagers, but social conflict soon discontinued these fairs. Outsiders were invited to talk at these occasions and athletic events would give it a happy ending.

The Use of Leisure Time and Visiting. One of the major 461
problems that confronts every one working in Megali Vrisi is how 517
to use the excess leisure time more profitably. This excess leisure 241
time is the cause of conflicts and drunkenness. Due to the nature [578]
of their agriculture the rush work season comes in the fall for two months and two months in summer. The rest of the time very little work is done in the fields. During the winter months from December to April there is no farm work except the chores which are done by the women. This long slack season is an acute problem for the farmers themselves. From morning until late in

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of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

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It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ἰσνάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peninsula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

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See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». ('Ο Φάρος τῆς Βορ. Ἑλλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.